



## ***Daily Report***

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# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-89-114  
Thursday  
15 June 1989

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-89-114

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## Djibouti

### \* Efforts Made To Avoid Regional Conflicts

34190212 Paris LE MONDE in French 10 May 89 p 8

[Article by Yves Heller: "Djibouti Seeks To Preserve Itself From Regional Conflicts"]

[Text] Djibouti, land of serenity lost in a sea of disorder? Djibouti, "haven of peace in the Horn of Africa shaken by politico-military conflicts of all sorts, islet of relative prosperity in the midst of a region impoverished by natural calamities and economic bankruptcies," as it is described in a brochure published by the Djibouti Government and entitled, "Djibouti, a Land of Hospitality?"

Twelve years after independence, the former French possession, whose sole "mission" for nearly a century had been to "close off" access from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean, is currently undergoing a test that could very well transform this "islet" into a frail ship tossed on a stormy sea. For the moment, in this republic only slightly larger than Lebanon, the storm winds are blowing from the direction of northern Somalia, itself prey to a small-scale war stemming more from tribal than from political repercussions. "What goes on in Hargeisa (capital of northern Somalia and a stake in the war being waged between the government forces and the members of the underground) affects Djibouti more than it does Mogadiscio. We are trying to deal with the situation and to emerge unharmed from any possible ricochets (from this war)," explains a Djibouti official.

In fact, the ethnic relationships on both sides of a rather porous border can only favor such "ricochets" from which the Djiboutians would so much like to protect themselves. The current concern of the government of President Hassan Gouled Aptidon: Two of the Somali peoples directly involved in the civil war now ravaging Djibouti's great eastern neighbor, are also among the ethnic entities that make up Djibouti, that delicate ensemble which in the last days of colonial rule bore the name: "Territory of the Afars and the Issas."

In question are the Gadaboursis, of whom a group has taken sides with the government of Somali President Siad Barre, and the Issas, who are in the majority in the National Somali Movement (MNS), which is in conflict with the above-mentioned regime. A particular additional source of tension is an ancient hostility between these same Gadaboursis and the Issas, one important component of the Somali people, itself in the majority in Djibouti, along with the Afars.

Several days ago, then, the much-feared "ricochets" had just reached the city of Djibouti, where a series of ethnic incidents occurred, sufficiently violent to send about twenty individuals to the hospital and to give rise to an uneasiness that was clearly observable in the leaders. First of all there were confrontations on the night of

17-18 March—involving both knives and rock-throwing—between Issas and Gadaboursis. The next night, it was the Issas' turn to lock horns with the Gadaboursis; the clash was still limited to rock-throwing, but it occurred in a different neighborhood. If the immediate cause of the first incidents, during which two shops were reduced to ashes, was the settling of accounts after the murder of an Issa by a Gadaboursi several months before, still, the hint of tribal conflict in the whole affair sufficiently underlines the delicate position of the "islet" nation.

Under any circumstances, given the prudence imposed on Djibouti by its geographical, political and ethnic position (which, for example, forbids it to name explicitly either of its two neighbors, both of whom at one time or other have entertained ambitions regarding these 23,000 square kilometers of desert), the ministry of the interior tended to see in these different incidents "disturbances caused by people manipulated by those who had an interest in seeing these confrontations take place in Djibouti. In no way do the reasons for these free-for-alls concern the Republic of Djibouti." The situation was described by the French-language weekly, THE NATION, in terms quite as falsely prophetic—but with a humor that did not escape any Djiboutian—as follows: "In recent days, a tension of unexplained origin has reigned in the capital, especially in the third and fifth wards and in the suburb of Balbala."

Unexplained, indeed, when everyone knows that this "tension" coincided with the arrival in Djibouti of a Somali Government delegation formed of important Issa officials, among whom were two vice ministers and a general officer; the goal of this mission was to attempt to "convert" the Issa community in Djibouti by making it "abandon" the MNS. Once more these "ricochets." The Djibouti authorities, who wish to preserve the position of neutrality so scrupulously observed since independence in all the conflicts of the region—a neutrality that is the pledge of independence and of the very survival of their government—at first discreetly sought to have this visit postponed.

Once the Issa emissaries were physically present on Djiboutian territory, they found themselves confined to the Somali Embassy—well guarded in order to avoid any incident—with the sole freedom to receive Somali nationals, but in no case Djiboutians. According to several sources, it would seem that in the Arab countries to which this delegation has traveled on identical missions, it has also run up against a lack of support on the part of the Issa iaspora.

Confronted with all this public unrest inherited from conflicts that are politically foreign but ethnically very close, the government has no other recourse than to fly "by visual flight rules," to continue to give the lie to all the predictions prevailing at the moment of independence, predictions that at the time allowed the young



republic scarcely any chances of survival. Diplomatically, it is, above all, a question of President Gouled's reassuring the Somalis concerning the real neutrality of Djibouti, despite the very strong ethnic ties that unite certain components of the two countries (Is there not a saying here that "Many a heart beats for Hargeisa"? ) while at the same time seeking to convince the government of President Siad Barre not to undertake anything that might create—and maintain—a climate of tension in Djibouti. That is what Mr Hassan Gouled did by going to Mogadiscio, shortly after the launching of the MNS offensive in May 1988 against the large cities of northern Somalia. And the president of Djibouti did well to pass on the message: "Djibouti will not become a base of operations for the opposition movements of the region."

At the domestic level, this "navigation by visual flight rules" takes the shape of a subtle mixture of "firmness" with regard to the "manipulated individuals," of "tolerance," of "patience" and of "vigilance," according to the words of one official. Along with about forty arrests and an observable police presence in the turbulent Balbala section during the days following the disturbances that took place there, Djiboutian Government representatives are making it quite clear that if such clashes were to reoccur, a number of refugees would see themselves escorted to the border under military guard.

It is true, as a source close to President Gouled emphasizes, that Djibouti has already emerged successfully from trials that have been equally—if not more—dangerous to the cohesiveness of the country. Such was the Ogaden War, which broke out between Ethiopia and Somalia when Djibouti had scarcely achieved independence, dumping several tens of thousands of refugees on the territory of the newborn state. Today it is again a matter of several tens of thousands of Somalis—without anyone's knowing the exact figure—who have managed to flee the fighting and to find refuge in Djibouti.

But this time, the government has refused to repeat the bitter experience of the camps, hotbeds of all kinds of danger, preferring to halt the flow of refugees at the border (in what has been nearly a year and, in fact, until the rains that recently pelted the region rendered the roads impassable, about five hundred Somalis have been turned back every week) and allowing the fortunate elect who have succeeded in reaching the "haven of peace" to find shelter with relatives. That explains how, from one day to the next a family can grow from six to 26 members. "We must not deceive ourselves; it is impossible for us to seal the border hermetically," officials admit.

Will President Gouled, who in twelve years has given proof of his ability to preserve the country from the fallout from regional upsets, be able to defuse the tension and to keep this new threat at a distance, when in the minds of the people, various ethnic currents taint the stream of government? The official circles, far from veiling their faces, admit that the task is a "difficult one"

and that a "narrow margin of maneuverability" is all that they have to work with. Sheltering the republic definitively from the "passions" of the ethnic groups "requires time and is not accomplished by decree," sources close to the president emphasize, but "the time will come when national sentiment will ultimately blur ethnic ties."

Djibouti has a significant trump card there: the awareness that permeates the entire population—including many refugees and partisans of one of the parties in conflict in Somalia—that its fate is directly bound up with the preservation of the political and social stability of the young republic.

## Ethiopia

**ELF Leader on Coup Attempt, EPLF, U.S. Aid**  
*PM1406103289 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT*  
*in Arabic 13 Jun 89 p 3*

[Unattributed interview with Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) leader 'Umar al-Burj in Rome; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Interviewer] Why did your organization refuse to support the recent coup attempt in Ethiopia?

[Al-Burj] Right from the beginning we have pursued a policy based on noninterference in Ethiopia's affairs, except as regards our cause. We consider the recent coup attempt a struggle for power in Ethiopia, and it is not in the Eritreans' interests to get involved in such a struggle. The Eritreans do not align themselves with one Ethiopian party or another. Besides, the Ethiopian Army continues to fight us and kill our people, so how can we support the conflicting groups within the Army when they have not defined a position on our people's cause? [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] Why did the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front (EPLF) reject the negotiations?

[Al-Burj] Ask the EPLF why it does not want to join the other Eritreans in open negotiations with Ethiopia. Right from the start we have set the condition that the Eritrean delegation to the negotiations must represent the four factions in addition to the EPLF. This, because these factions represent the true and real characteristics of the Eritrean people. But when the EPLF refused to participate we exerted major efforts to persuade its leaders to join in. The Sudanese Government too made further efforts for the EPLF to join the other factions and negotiate with Ethiopia. But it is the impossible desire to dominate the situation that made the EPLF refuse to take part.

The EPLF says that it is the major force in the arena and that it alone has the right to negotiate, represent, and talk on behalf of the Eritrean people and to express their aspirations—and that is impossible. We will not discuss

the EPLF's position and where it stands. Let us not talk about it. A single group cannot represent or determine the future of a whole people on its own. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] The United States has recently displayed a willingness to make efforts with a view to ending the conflicts in the Horn of African region, and former U.S. President Jimmy Carter's visits to Ethiopia and Sudan, his meetings with officials in both countries, and his meeting with the EPLF leader seem to be linked to a role which the United States wishes to play in the region. What is your position on that U.S. move?

[Al-Burj] First of all, we were surprised by the meeting between Carter and Isaias Afewerki and the way in which it took place. Despite this, we appreciate any endeavors by the United States, the Soviet Union, or the Western European states aimed at finding a just solution to the region's problems, and particularly the Eritrean problem.

In fact for 10 years we have constantly urged the major countries to do this. I believe that the United States can play an influential role in establishing peace in Eritrea, not only by virtue of its international influence, but also because the 1950 UN federal decision linking Eritrea with Ethiopia was originally a U.S. plan—which means that the United States is not divorced from the Eritrean issue. But I hope that the Eritrean people, with all its groups, will be represented in any settlement for which Washington may be working, in order to avert the old U.S. error whose destructive results endure in Eritrea to this very day. This, because the 28-year war in Eritrea actually broke out because the Eritrean people's will was trampled and misrepresented and because solutions were imposed on them. We point this fact out to all parties wanting peace and stability in the region.

[Interviewer] So how do you interpret the fact that the United States allocates humanitarian aid to one side but not the other?

[Al-Burj] That U.S. stance reflects a conspicuous and unpleasant bias, and discrimination between hungry people on the basis of religion or affiliation is difficult to accept. But that aid was part of a political process under the pretence of humanitarian aid, since it was followed immediately by the in-flight meeting between Carter and Isaias Afewerki and then the latter's visit to the United States. Generally events have begun to explain certain matters. For our part, we acknowledge that the Americans have the right to supply material or political aid to or make contacts with whomever they want, but the United States has no right to determine who should represent the Eritrean people. And I say clearly that no individual Eritrean group can alone define the Eritrean people's desires and aspirations—and that applies to us as well.

**EPLF Official Discusses Eritrean Affairs**  
*JN1506063089 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic*  
12 Jun 89 pp 16, 17

[First of two part interview with Muhammad Sa'id, Political Bureau member of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] and official in charge of the EPLF's National Guidance Organ; by correspondent Shawqi Mahmud "in the liberated Eritrean territories"; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Mahmud] From the outset, let us agree that this interview will be characterized by total frankness, dotting the i's and free of any answers that might be construed to give more than one meaning, as the objective behind this interview is to shed light on the Eritrean issue and to discuss both positive as well as negative aspects in the march of this revolution.

[Sa'id] I agree with you on this principle, especially as I like to speak through AL-ANBA' on our concerns, considering this newspaper's position in our hearts as well as the role that it is playing to serve the Eritrean revolution.

[Mahmud] Let us begin with the end of the events pertaining to the Eritrean revolution, as the coup attempt which sought to topple President Mengistu has failed. Did the EPLF have any role, be it direct or indirect, in this coup attempt?

[Sa'id] The EPLF had no direct role in the coup attempt which has recently taken place in Ethiopia. However, it had an indirect role in this attempt; and this indirect role was played through the mobilization of the Ethiopian public on the futility of the Ethiopian-Eritrean war. This role was also played through the numerous messages sent to the army and to internal Ethiopian figures, particularly when we know that the army is the effective force capable of changing any political situation, since this army has within its ranks the majority of the intelligentsia as well as many groups which can change the political life. [Passage omitted]

The EPLF has supported the coup attempt which has recently taken place in Ethiopia, because it believes that the current Ethiopian regime is the obstacle to stability and peace in the Horn of Africa region. The evidence of this is the enmity harbored by this regime toward Somalia and Sudan, its ceaseless ambitions regarding Djibouti, and its attempt to oppress the Eritrean people. Hence, the removal of the Mengistu regime is viewed as a first step toward the realization of peace and stability in the region. The EPLF took the initiative of taking positive steps toward the coup attempt, as it announced in its second statement a 15-day unilateral cease-fire and its readiness to cooperate with the 2d Ethiopian army stationed in Eritrea to bring about the overthrow of Mengistu, as this army constitutes the spearhead for

overthrowing this regime because of its protracted suffering caused by the continuation of the war and also because of the grave losses that this army has sustained—a thing which led to the creation of many problems within its ranks.

[Mahmud] Did the EPLF actually participate in this coup attempt?

[Sa'id] No. [Passage omitted]

[Mahmud] Can the Ethiopian prisoners with the EPLF play a role in making changes in the Ethiopian Army?

[Sa'id] We have approximately 10,000 prisoners. The Ethiopian regime does not recognize them and considers them renegade opposition groups. The Ethiopian regime does not consider them prisoners of war [POW's]. However, we consider them POW's. Although we are not an official party to the Geneva Convention on the POW's, we apply the provisions of this convention on them, and safeguard their rights, dignity, and human existence. [passage omitted]

[Mahmud] How many EPLF POW's are there in Ethiopia?

[Sa'id] We have been struggling for 27 years and the armed struggle escalated throughout the past 15 years. Consequently, there are many POW's in Ethiopia and we cannot figure out the exact number.

[Mahmud] Are there 5,000-10,000 POW's—more or less?

[Sa'id] For many security considerations we do not try to present figures although we know that there are large numbers of fighters with the Ethiopians because we waged many battles against the Ethiopian Army. We are aware that those POW's are living under tragic conditions and are not recognized as fighters. They describe them as highway robbers; they kill them and hurt their honor. Many of them died in the Ethiopian detention centers.

There are also thousands of Eritrean civilians, including workers, women, students, and members of the Eritrean mass organizations who are in prisons. In addition to those, there are 50,000-60,000 Eritreans living in Ethiopia who are considered hostages by the Ethiopian regime. They take revenge on them when anything happens in Eritrea; they seize their property and oppress them.

[Mahmud] You said that some Ethiopian POW's join the opposition Ethiopian organizations. What is the relationship between the EPLF and these organizations?

[Sa'id] There are continuous contacts between the EPLF and the Ethiopian organizations. The EPLF has contacts and strong ties with the Popular Revolutionary Movement in Tigre and good relations with the Oromo Liberation Front, which is considered the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia as it constitutes 65 percent of the population there. This group was oppressed during the reign of Menelik and Haile Selassie; it is also oppressed by the present regime. We have good and developed relations with the Afar Liberation Front led by Sultan 'Ali Marah. Sometimes we carry out joint military operations inside Ethiopia.

There are also other organizations and parties such as the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party, the All-Ethiopia Socialist Movement, and the Independent Ethiopian Soldiers' Movement which is a new movement which started to develop and expand especially inside the Ethiopian Army. It played an active role during the recent coup attempt in Ethiopia.

There are also active Ethiopians in the diaspora like the United States and West Europe who have contacts with the Popular Front. All these Ethiopian organizations and the Popular Front have the same objective, which is to topple the present regime in Ethiopia, work for a democratic regime and find peaceful solutions to the region's issues.

[Mahmud] Apart from political coordination between these organizations and the front, is there any military coordination?

[Sa'id] Yes. [Passage omitted]

[Mahmud] What are the bases of a peaceful solution to the Eritrean cause from the point of view of the EPLF?

[Sa'id] We have been struggling for over 27 years for the sake of the Eritrean people's right to self-determination. We believe that the solution lies in the Eritrean people being able to express their opinion on self-determination. If they wish to have independence, then we support them. If they find that they have certain interests with Ethiopia and believe that they are bound federally and confederally with it, then we stand by that. And if they accept the Ethiopian proposal of autonomy, then we also stand by that. These three options are left to the Eritrean people who will decide what they want. The EPLF is part of the people. If it proposes anything contrary to their desire, it will not succeed.

Our opinion is that a referendum should be conducted in Eritrea through a committee set up by the United Nations or Nonaligned Countries Movement, or any other organization which receives the approval of both parties - the Eritrean and the Ethiopian - to find out what the Eritrean people want. We support what they choose.



[Mahmud] When former U.S. President Carter was in Sudan recently, he met with the EPLF secretary general. He then met with him again upon arrival in Khartoum from Addis Ababa. What are the most prominent results of these talks? Was he sent by the U.S. Administration?

[Sa'id] Former U.S. President Carter cannot make any moves if he is not given the green light from the U.S. Administration. This is our conviction. The United States believes that it can play the role of the calming agent toward a peaceful solution of the Eritrean cause. We support any initiative whether American, European, or from Eastern European countries seeking to find a peaceful solution to the cause.

The meeting with former President Carter took place on this basis. We said that we had no objection to any U.S. or Soviet effort seeking to find a peaceful solution.

[Mahmud] Has any U.S. initiative to solve the Eritrean issue been proposed?

[Sa'id] So far, no initiative has been proposed. These meetings were held in order to find out if there is a desire to find a peaceful political solution. We asserted that we have a sincere desire and are prepared to sit with the current Ethiopian regime or any other regime in order to find a peaceful solution to the Eritrean issue. [Passage omitted]

[Mahmud] The EPLF's secretary general has recently visited the United States. Is there any connection between this visit and the talks he held with Former U.S. President Carter in Khartoum?

[Sa'id] The main objective behind the EPLF secretary general's visit to the United States was to meet with Eritreans living there. There was an invitation by the U.S. Administration to hear the EPLF's viewpoints and this is of great interest to us.

The secretary general's tour was not confined to the United States. He also has an arranged program for a tour in western European countries, such as Britain, Italy, and the Scandinavian states, as well as a tour in the Arab region.

[Mahmud] Why are you imposing such secrecy over the Soviet military experts taken prisoner by the EPLF on 18 March 1988 during one of the battles with Ethiopian troops? Why do you not allow any press interview with them?

[Sa'id] Following the capture of those experts, we declared that they are prisoners of war because they were captured while they were performing a military role and drawing military plans for the Ethiopian forces. There were another nine experts; and, unfortunately, those nine were not captured. There were 13 experts in the Af Abad-Nacfa front: three were arrested, one was missing, and the others were not captured.

An official spokesman at the Soviet Foreign Ministry admitted that three Soviet experts were taken prisoners. Therefore, we announced that they have been held by us since they were arrested.

Concerning their release and other matters, these issues are determined by us. We decide when we will release them, under what conditions, and our view on the solution to the case of those prisoners. This is all left to us and to the negotiations that will take place between the EPLF and the Soviet Union.

We do not believe that the issue is that of Soviet prisoners held in Eritrea. However, we look beyond that to see what the Soviet Union can do because it is the root of the problem now. It is the one that complicated matters. [We want to see] how can it solve this problem and find a peaceful solution to the Eritrean cause.

We are ready to sit down with them and negotiate. The issue of prisoners will be secondary since there are bigger problems than that.

I believe that you have not had the chance to interview them. This is up to them—whether they are willing to give interviews and meet with any journalist from any newspaper. This is up to them to decide. [Passage omitted]

[Mahmud] Are there any contacts between the Soviet Union and the EPLF to release those prisoners?

[Sa'id] There have been meetings with the Soviets in the past.

[Mahmud] When did these meetings take place?

[Sa'id] 3-4 months ago.

[Mahmud] Were they direct talks or did they go through a third party?

[Sa'id] Direct.

[Mahmud] Over the issue of prisoners?

[Sa'id] Over the issue of prisoners and other issues.

[Mahmud] Will you use these prisoners as a trump card to pressure the Soviet Union to change its stand over the Eritrean cause?

[Sa'id] We do not believe that these prisoners could be used in this way.

As I said earlier, we believe the prisoners are a secondary issue and not the basic issue over which we negotiate. We shall not meet with the Soviets to discuss the issue of prisoners only. The Soviet Union is a superpower. It has presence, weight, and great influence in this region. We cannot ignore this role. We cannot stand as an obstacle

in its way because we are a small and poor people in a state of war for 27 years. Our economy is destroyed. Over one million Eritreans are homeless inside Eritrea. Around one million are outside. This is our situation and therefore, we do not constitute a threat to anyone, whether the neighboring regimes or the Soviet Union. We have no desire to be arrogant; however, inside our borders we realize what is possible and impossible.

We do take the Soviet interests into consideration but not at the expense of our national cause.

[Mahmud] On what levels were the Soviet-Eritrean meetings held?

[Sa'id] Within various frameworks.

[Mahmud] We agreed to dot the i's.

[Sa'id] On leadership levels.

[Mahmud] Where were they held?

[Sa'id] There is no reason to disclose the venue. By the way, I say this for the first time. You have obtained from me an explicit admission about meetings between us and the Soviet Union, and this is a gift to AL-ANBA' and to you in particular.

Generally speaking, there are meetings and there is a dialogue between us and the Soviet Union. They are sometimes held on the level of leaders and at other times on other levels. These meetings were held in this area and not in Sudan or Egypt. They were not held in Moscow or West European countries, but in the Middle East. Several meetings were held.

[Mahmud] Could this be considered a positive step toward the Soviet-Eritrean relations?

[Sa'id] Beyond doubt. On this occasion, I would like to stress that we are not against the Soviet Union. This is a fact which we honestly state. We are not against it nor do we desire to be so, although we had our own stand toward the Soviet foreign policy, particularly the one pursued before the reforms and perestroika, which was erroneous and led to obstructing many affairs. Therefore, I believe that the rectification of this Soviet foreign policy will help establish peace and stability in the Horn of Africa zone.

[Mahmud] If you can address a message to Soviet leader Gorbachev through AL-ANBA', what would you tell him?

[Sa'id] I would like to say in the name of the Popular Front and the Eritrean people that the Soviet Union can play an effective role, be it negative or positive. It can play a positive role as a superpower which has regional interests. These interests should be viewed with consideration. It should also play a role in stopping war in

Eritrea. The Soviet Union can play such a role because it is not like Italy, Britain, or any other state. With their impact, the Soviets can—if they wish—play a positive role. We are not asking military or material aid from them. We want them to play this role and press for a peaceful solution to the Eritrean issue.

## Tanzania

**President on More Aid, OAU Post Candidate**  
*EA1106205789 Dar es Salaam External Service*  
*in English 1800 GMT 11 Jun 89*

[Text] Tanzania has said it will improve industrial utilization capacity and increase agricultural production during the implementation of the second phase of the IMF-negotiated program on economic recovery. President Ali Hasan Mwinyi said in Dar es Salaam today that the government will request donor countries and agencies to increase aid to make the country self-reliant in future. Speaking in an interview with All-India Radio, President Mwinyi said the government will also improve the transport sector to ensure no crops are stranded in the countryside. He said that Tanzania would hold talks with the Washington-based lending house for more aid to improve the economy.

President Mwinyi also said Tanzania's decision to release the deputy prime minister and minister for defense and national service, Ndugu Salim Ahmed Salim, to contest for the post of the secretary general of the OAU is a move aimed at strengthening the pan-African body. The president said Tanzania had agreed to release its best-known diplomat, Ndugu Salim, because of the importance the country attaches to the OAU. He emphasized that Tanzania has a profound interest in the success of the OAU.

**Plans For Next Fiscal Year Announced**  
*EA1006181389 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service*  
*in Swahili 1700 GMT 9 Jun 89*

[Text] The government will spend 140 billion shillings in the next fiscal year starting in July. This compares with 118 billion shillings budgeted for the 1988/89 fiscal year. Comrade Cleopa Msuya, the minister of finance, told Parliament's economic and financial committee that the government would spend 22 billion shillings on development projects. Comrade Msuya said that ordinary government spending would amount to 118 billion shillings, the same as the budget for this financial year. He said the government will encourage the economic growth achieved as a result of the economic recovery program and also control bank loans. Comrade Msuya said that Tanzania's central bank had been forced to give loans to commercial banks because the latter's customers had failed to pay back loans.



## Uganda

### Offensive Results in 300 UPA 'Rebels' Killed

AB1406162789 Paris AFP in English 1520 GMT  
14 Jun 89

[Text] Kampala, June 14 (AFP)—About 300 rebels were killed and another 500 captured over the weekend when the National Resistance Army (NRA) forces launched a major military offensive against Uganda People's Army (UPA) rebels in eastern Uganda, the Catholic daily newspaper, MUNNO, reported Wednesday.

About 76 guns were captured in the offensive, launched against an estimated rebel force of 1,500 in Otuboi sub-county, the paper said, without giving the number of NRA troops killed or captured in the action.

The prisoners were being detained at a military camp near the flying school in Soroti town.

UPA, the rebel group fighting the three and half year-old government of President Yoweri Museveni from the eastern Soroti and Kumi Districts of the country, has suffered heavy losses to the NRA, the armed wing of President Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM).

The NRM came to power in January 1986 after a five-year guerrilla war against the regimes of Milton Obote and General Tito Okello.

### \* 'Rift' in Rebel Movement Reportedly Widening

34000497c Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN  
NEWSLETTER in English 1 Apr 89 p 3

[Article: "Uganda: UPDM Rift Widens"]

[Text] The bitter power struggle in the Uganda People's Democratic Movement (UPDM) has taken another turn. Lieutenant General Brazilio Olara Okello, the man who ousted Milton Obote in 1985, has broken his long silence. In a press statement issued in Khartoum on March 4, where he went into exile in 1986, Okello, who is the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA) General Military Commander, said he was expelling Eric Otema Allimadi from the movement. He accused Allimadi, the interim chairman of the UPDM of wreaking havoc in the movement. The former premier in Obote's government is replaced by Dr. Henry Benjamin Obonyo, who is the UPDM's secretary general. Last year's surrender to the NRA of a large number of UPDM soldiers under the late Major Okello Mogi and the defections to the Holy Spirit Movement were sparked off by Allimadi's behaviour. Okello said that he was a weak leader who was still in the thrall of Obote. The statement says in January, Allimadi went to Kenya where he received large sums of money from his former chief, Obote, for the purpose of de-stabilising the UPDM/A.

**'Large Scale' Police Operation at Wits University**  
*MB1506092089 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*0918 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg, June 15, SAPA—Police in Johannesburg today confirmed that a "large scale" police operation was underway at the University of the Witwatersrand.

A spokesman in the public relations division in Johannesburg confirmed the operation, but did not have further details. A university spokesman was not immediately available for comment.

Tomorrow—June 16—is the 13th anniversary of the Soweto student uprising.

Later Lieutenant Colonel Frans Malherbe, official SAP [South African Police] spokesman for the Witwatersrand, told SAPA a "well planned police operation on a large scale" had been launched on the Wits [Witwatersrand] campus "in consultation with authorities of the university ..."

The operation began at 9am.

A search warrant, issued by a Johannesburg magistrate, was handed personally to the vice-chancellor of Wits by the head of the Johannesburg Security Branch, Col Piet du Toit, prior to the operation.

Col Malherbe said "specific premises" on campus were being searched with hampering the normal university activities.

The places being searched include several offices, flats (apartments) and hostels on campus.

The operation was a result of information collected over a period of time, the colonel added.

The liaison officer for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Brigadier Leon Mellet, was monitoring the operation and would release a final statement after the operation later today, the colonel said.

Professor Jerry Steele, acting vice-chancellor at Wits, confirmed to SAPA he had received a visit from the security branch this morning. Officers had in their possession a search warrant in terms of section 25 of the Criminal Procedures Act entitling police to search certain University premises.

According to the professor, the search was still continuing at 12.30pm.

**SAP Denies Beating ANC's Gwala at Funeral**  
*MB1406052789 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*2206 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Pietermaritzburg, June 13, SAPA—Police have denied sjambokking [whipping] veteran trade unionist and ANC [African National Congress] activist, Mr Harry Gwala, as he left Pietermaritzburg's Mountain Rise Cemetery on Monday.

They have also said mourners dispersed by policemen wielding quirts had been "acting in a militant fashion" and had "ignored police requests to disperse."

The beatings took place shortly after the end of the burial service for National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa [NUMSA] official Jabu Ndlovu, who died on 1 June after her Imbali home was attacked on 21 May. Mrs Ndlovu's husband and daughter also died in the attack.

Mr Gwala, 70, today insisted he had been sjambokked by the police and has consulted his lawyer regarding the matter. A family spokesman said a doctor had examined Mr Gwala and had found swelling on his back and legs. Mr Gwala suffers from motor-neuron disease and cannot move his arms.

In a statement the Public Relations Division of the SAP [South African Police] said a police video of the incident "proves that (Mr Gwala) was walking far behind the group who were dispersed."

"An officer was walking behind him and did not have a sjambok in his possession.

"The video shows no assault on Mr Gwala and also that no policemen were near him when the persons were dispersed," the police statement said.

Meanwhile, NUMSA said in a statement today the police action at the funeral, which it described as "provocative, undisciplined and partisan," had exacerbated tension in Pietermaritzburg.

The union said police had informed it "after 0900" on Monday that the funeral, scheduled for 1000, had been restricted to 200 people. Once 200 people had entered St Mary's Cathedral, armed police barred the doors and refused entry to hundreds of mourners, among them Mrs Ndlovu's sister and brother-in-law. There was still plenty of seating available in the church at the time.

However, in the statement, police rejected the union's description of their actions, adding the restrictions were served on the family and on the priest because "the SA Police could not allow any attempts from outsiders to 'hijack' the proceedings."

"No members of the family were refused entry to the church or cemetery. Videos taken by the police prove that persons who could identify themselves as family were granted permission even after the number of 200 was exceeded," police said.

**Information Minister Views Emergency Regulations**  
*MB1306173089 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1600 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] The minister of information, broadcasting services, and the film industry, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, says the emergency regulations had contributed to social reform which created circumstances under which matters such as black housing could be addressed in an orderly manner.

He told a news conference in Pretoria that more than 24,600 black public servants had purchased houses in urban areas in the past 2 years. Dr van der Merwe said that sales of state housing to people in the lower-income group of the private sector now exceeded 105,000.

**Commentary on Natal Violence Advocates Unity**  
*EA1106195989 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English  
to South Africa 1930 GMT 10 Jun 89*

[Station commentary: "Peace in Natal Must Be Restored"]

[Text] Compatriots, at a time when the call for peace in Natal and an immediate end to the carnage that has claimed the lives of so many of our people in that area is now on everyone's lips and becoming louder and louder by the day, it is more surprising that a new element that should have been inconsequential in the first place should be arising and threatening to wreck the whole peace effort that has been labored for so long. There is no doubt that the bickering that has been going on for some weeks now between the major parties to be involved in the efforts towards establishing peace and love in Natal—over the choice of a suitable venue for the holding of peace talks—has become the concern of every genuine patriot of our motherland who seeks to bring to an end the carnage that has been going on in Natal. It is even more worrying when it is to be recalled that some among the parties involved had pledged their unqualified readiness and willingness to participate in the peace talks to the extent of even declaring their preparedness to go to the end of the earth to achieve this noble ideal.

The main obstacle that now seems to be blocking the way forward to the peace conference between COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], the UDF [United Democratic Front] to resolve the conflict that has led to this gruesome carnage in Natal, is that of a venue acceptable to all sides for the holding of this desired conference. It is our contention that the spirit and goal of achieving an objective as noble as that of restoring peace in this trouble-torn part of our country where so many of our people's lives have been lost,

should not be allowed to be diverted by an issue as insignificant as the venue precisely to meet and resolve all our outstanding differences.

It is obvious that logic, clear reasoning, and an attitude of fairness guided by our undying commitment to peace should dictate that a suitable venue for a first meeting of this kind will be a venue which is acceptable to all sides. Indeed, what should guide all of us who are seized with this matter is to seek a venue that would not in any way impose psychological or physical advantage to any of the parties concerned. Having this ideal in mind, therefore, it should not be difficult to realize that even our bona fides—to the commitment to peace—would be seriously undermined by the unreasonable insistence on a venue that is clearly associated to either of the parties or would place any undue advantage on either side, or a venue not acceptable to any of the parties.

In this insistence, the efforts by numerous other patriots of our motherland to provide facilities that would serve as an acceptable venue for the parties concerned must be welcomed and should be seen as not only encouraging, but also as a clear sign of the massive support to the peace efforts. To all our compatriots inside and outside the trouble-torn areas of Natal, whether belonging to the memberships of UDF, COSATU, and Inkatha or not, the primary concern is, has always been, and must be that of finally ending the carnage that has been going in that area for too long now. We must have all realized by now, singly and collectively, that this carnage has benefited no one amongst us—the oppressed—but our common enemy, the white-minority apartheid regime. All the lives that have been lost in this ruthless conflict have been black lives, our own brothers and sisters; all property damaged, burnt out, or destroyed belonged to us, the oppressed black people of this country. And in all these losses to life and property, it is not us the oppressed who have gained but it is the apartheid regime.

Undoubtedly, any further delays towards the resolution of this crisis and the restoration of peace amongst our people benefits no one else but our common enemy. It is no one amongst us, the oppressed, but the Pretoria regime that is rejoicing over this heckling that has been going on now over the simple issue of a venue that is acceptable to us all, a venue where we will be able to hold a conference to resolve the crisis that is arising amongst us as brothers. Indeed, while the statements were flying from one end to the other rejecting this or that venue, our common enemy, the apartheid regime, did not stop even for a moment to continue fanning and instigating this ruthless killing to go on without end amongst our people. Today more people have died since all the three groups agreed to everything else about signing the peace talks but the meeting place. It is to be expected, therefore, in the wake of the gravity and seriousness of the issue concerned, reason will finally prevail over those holding back progress towards the peace meeting to flush out and end once and for all this scourge amongst our people.



Compatriots, as far as our vanguard liberation movement, the ANC [African National Congress] is concerned, it remains ever committed to its unqualified support of the peace initiative undertaken by all genuine patriots of our motherland to end the conflict in Natal. It is to this end that the ANC has called on all concerned citizens of our motherland, irrespective of their political or ideological affiliations, to leave no stone unturned in their single or collective peace efforts to resolve this conflict in Natal, or any other that may arise among our people. The ANC says: Let every patriot raise high the banner of peace among the oppressed and strive even harder to strengthen our unity against our common enemy, the apartheid regime.

It is to be expected that the apartheid regime through its hirelings, collaborators, agents, and warlords will never cease to devise all means of disrupting and delaying our efforts at peace. Let us frustrate them in their intentions. Let us not be seen to be doing what in the final end would be pleasing the enemy or in fact doing the job of the enemy ourselves. Certainly all those (?seized) with the issue of ending the carnage in Natal and bringing about peace must have realized that at the center of the whole conflict emerges the apartheid regime which has triggered the conflict and helped to propel it further. Directly or indirectly, the apartheid regime has been actively involved through its brutal SADF [South African Defense Forces] and SAP [South African Police] elements or through its salaried warlords and other hirelings. It must be our deliberate objective, therefore, in our efforts towards peace to isolate these elements and unite our people against them. The move for peace in Natal should therefore be seen as part of our common struggle to destroy the apartheid system itself, with all the ills that it has created amongst us, for its replacement with a system of government that is representative of all our people and reflecting all their aspirations.

Certainly whether we are members of Inkatha or the UDF or COSATU, we all today are toiling under the jackboot of apartheid. We all are not represented in the central organs governing our country. We all are the victims of apartheid. We certainly have more in common amongst each other than with the apartheid Pretoria regime. Today let us all wake up to realize these common issues that divide us. Today let us work tirelessly towards strengthening all factors that unite us. Let us easily resolve this crisis of a venue that is acceptable to all sides and sit together at table to bring about peace amongst ourselves, where we will surely resolve to turn the spears of Shaka against the enemy, to turn the spears of Moshoeshe Ingana Makana against the apartheid regime. Forward to peace in Natal, forward to peace amongst our oppressed people, forward to freedom.

**Regional, European Economic 'Rescue' Urged**  
*MB1506060089 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] There have been several calls of late for European powers to return to southern Africa. Certainly, major European and other powers have a role to play in the subcontinent, but then it is necessary that the role be defined and the needs of the region clearly identified.

The immediate needs of southern Africa are obvious. They are the rehabilitation of shattered political systems and the reconstruction of devastated economies. Political stability and economic development can only be achieved within Southern Africa by the countries of southern Africa. The role of European and other outside governments must be one of facilitation. The first requirement is for the stabilization of the region so that there can be real economic growth.

European governments in particular have a role to play not only because of their experience and expertise in economic reconstruction and rehabilitation, but also because southern Africa simply does not have the financial resources to rescue itself.

International efforts in this direction have been concentrated thus far on bilateral activity or on multilateral action through SADCc [Southern African Development Coordination Conference], the grouping of nine states in southern Africa that excludes South Africa. Not only is South Africa excluded, but SADCC has deliberately set about trying to isolate South Africa from economic interaction. This attempted isolation has been both counterproductive and futile. The experience of SADCC, and other developments in southern Africa in the 1980's, have demonstrated irrefutably that both regional stabilization and economic development are dependent in large measure on cooperation and interaction between all the states of southern Africa, including South Africa.

A challenging role in turning around isolationist policies in favor of the accommodation of all the states of southern Africa in a joint rescue operation before it is too late, awaits outside powers. A particularly important role can be played in this regard by the British Government, not only because of Britain's extensive sphere of influence in southern Africa, but also because of the personal acquaintance of her prime minister with the problems of the region. It is in this direction, amongst others, that the importance lies of the forthcoming meeting between the leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, and Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

They will obviously be discussing issues inside South Africa, but their meeting also provides the opportunity for the grave problems of southern Africa to be discussed at the highest level between two parties that have constructive roles to play in the political stabilization and economic advancement of southern Africa.

**Institute Head Addresses Soviet Role in Region**  
*MB1406050789 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2234 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg June 13 SAPA—The total onslaught ideology which South Africans had been fed for 14 years ended with acceptance of Resolution 435 and the government now realised that it needed the support of the international community including the

Soviet Union, to bring about peace and stability in South Africa, IDASA [Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa] director, Dr Frederik van zyl Slabbert, said tonight.

Addressing an IDASA report meeting in Johannesburg on his recent visit to the Soviet Union, Dr Slabbert said the total onslaught concept started in 1974 when Angola and Mozambique gained their independence. Since then the South African public had been told that there was a "devilish plot" by the Soviet Union to use the "Frontline" States and the ANC [African National Congress] to overrun South Africa.

"The implementation of Resolution 435 has been the death of the total onslaught under which South Africa has lived for the past 14 years."

He said part of the reason for this was the internal and external pressure which the country was facing, both economically and politically, but he believed the main cause was the shift in the attitude of international powers towards finding a political solution for South Africa.

The role played by international countries in bringing about a solution in Angola had astounded the South African Government and the significant role played by the Soviet Union had been publicly acknowledged by people such as the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Namibia was the fourth country after Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, to be freed from the white domination, and when it became independent the attention of the world would be focussed on South Africa as the last country in which white domination still existed.

He said the three key international players in the future of South Africa were the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, and all the three desired a peaceful solution for the country.

As a result of change in international affairs, the major powers were intent on finding regional solutions in areas that were potential flashpoints rather than risking confrontation which could endanger their interests.

The fact that the Soviet Union was prepared to make contact with South Africa and other key players in the South Africa situation should not be interpreted as a desire by it to establish diplomatic relations or to abandon its support for the ANC, but was part of the plan to find a political solution for the area.

He said the key international countries appeared to believe the unbanning of prohibited organisations, the release of political prisoners, the dismantling of apartheid structures and negotiation with black leaders, were necessary for a climate for a peaceful solution.

"The formula of unban, release, dismantle and negotiate has been evident in statements by the U.S., the USSR and the UK for several years. The problem is that we know what they see as a political solution, but how does the South African Government see it?"

He said the onus was now on the South African Government to explain why it was not going to follow the steps contained in the formula.

It was significant to note that in his first speech as new leader of the National Party [NP], Mr F.W. de Klerk had said that what South Africa required was a new constitution in which there was no domination nor discrimination and which would have to be negotiated.

He had also been quoted as saying that a new South Africa was needed "free of discrimination or oppression and with which democratic forces can align themselves."

He had also called for the support of international community.

"We know what the international community means by political solutions but we do not what Mr de Klerk means. What is he going to tell Mrs (Margaret) Thatcher and President (George) Bush when he visits them?"

He said the 1970's concept of South Africa as a country of several separate nations had collapsed and in the 1980's there had been a shift by the government towards the concept of a one nation country.

The difficulty facing the NP leaders now was that they were being confronted by a vast majority of people who had been wanting one nation for decades and they will have to come to terms with their aspirations which have been alive since 1912.

During question time, Dr Slabbert said that although there were indications that Mr F.W. de Klerk was willing to chose the path of a negotiated democratic solution for South Africa, the government's actions in reimposing the state of emergency and doing nothing to improve the climate for negotiations suggested the opposite.

On the other hand he realised Mr de Klerk was on the eve of a general election had not yet acceded to the position of state president.

However, once the election was over and he had returned from overseas, he would have to face up to the international and domestic forces that were being brought to bear on South Africa.



**WEEKLY MAIL Carries 'Apartheid Barometer'**  
*MB0206105789 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 2-8 Jun 89 p 6*

["Apartheid Barometer"]

#### [Text] EMERGENCY DETENTIONS

A total of 131 Emergency detentions were recorded by the Human Rights Commission [HRC] in the first three months of 1989. Of those detained 68 were from the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging], 59 from Natal, two from Northern Transvaal, one from Western Transvaal and one from the Eastern Cape. Forty-five of those detained were students or teachers, 11 community or political workers, three trade unionists and one church worker. The occupations of the rest were unknown.

In the same period 630 people were released from Emergency detention, according to the HRC. Forty-six of these releases took place in January, 265 in February and 319 in March. Of those released 257 came from Natal, 241 from the PWV area, 93 from the Eastern Cape, 20 from Transvaal country, 11 from the Western Cape, three from the Northern Cape, one from the OFS [Orange Free State] and four were unknown.

**RESTRICTION ORDERS:** A total of 477 Emergency regulations restriction orders are known to have been issued to released detainees between June 1988 and April this year, according to the Human Rights Commission. Of these orders, 27 were recorded in 1988, seven in January 1989, 130 in February, 213 in March, 66 in April and the rest at an unknown date.

Two hundred and thirty-one of the restricted former detainees came from the Transvaal, 112 from the Eastern Cape, 111 from Natal, 14 from the Western Cape, three from the Northern Cape, one from the OFS and five from unknown places. During the first three months of 1989, 55.7 percent of all detainees released had restriction orders served on them. In the Eastern Cape 81.5 percent of released detainees were restricted as were 75 percent in the PWV.

**PRISONERS AWAITING EXECUTION:** On May 18 this year there were seven people awaiting execution, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in parliament. He said five of these people were black and two white.

#### POLITICAL TRIALS

A total of 76 political trial were completed between October 1988 and February 1989 in which 312 people were charged, according to figures released in the May edition of HUMAN RIGHTS UPDATE, published by the Human Rights Commission. Of those charged 106 were convicted, 50 acquitted and charges were withdrawn against 156. The HRC also recorded 108 ongoing political trials involving 616 accused. Four are treason trials involving 181 accused.

#### POLITICAL PRISONERS ON DEATH ROW

There are a total of 66 persons on death row for politically-related reasons, according to the May edition of HUMAN RIGHTS UPDATE, published by HRC.

#### PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

Aldo Mmatshipi Mogano, 20, Alexandra Youth Congress [AYCO] activist, was detained under the Emergency regulations on March 8 this year, and is still being held. He first became politically active about five years ago during the 1984 student protests when he was a member of the now-banned Congress of South African Students. He later played a central role in the Alexandra Students Congress and the Students' Representative Council in his school, as well as in Ayco. At the time of his detention he was a technical student at the Lazarus Nhlapo Technical College in Tembisa.

Magono is one of the detainees transferred from Diepkloof Prison to Grootvlei Prison in Bloemfontein after resuming their hunger strike. He was on hunger strike from May 8 to May 15, and again from May 19 to May 27.

Mogono was detained while visiting friends in Alexandra who were restricted under the Emergency regulations. He had been in hiding since 1985.

#### BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

**Banned for possession:** The road to the conquest of political power in South Africa (Continental Publishers, Tanzania); Namibia Youth Sept/Oct 1982 and March/April 1982 (Swapo [South-West African People's Organization] Youth League, Luanda); To all Namibian Brothers and Sisters—pamphlet (Plan [People's Liberation Army of Namibia]); the Combatant vol 9 No 12 1988 (Plan); Swapo Information Bulletin November 1986 (Swapo Dept of Information and Publicity, Luanda); Namibia in the News vol 11 no 1/88 (United Nations, New York); The Road to Revolution in South Africa (Karrim Essack); The Next Step July 15 1988 (Revolutionary Communist Party, London); Oui Date-book 1975 (not states).

**Banned for distribution and importation:** The Namibian Woman vol 5 December 1988 (Swapo Women's Council, Angola); The Student Voice of Namibia vol 5 no 3 March/April 1989 (Nanso [Namibian National Students Organization], Windhoek); International Mobilisation vol X March 1 1989 [World Peace Council, Finland]; Gek Nr 57 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, Roodepoort); The Gunsmith 87-Ride for Vengeance (J. R. Roberts).

**'Barometer' for 9-14 Jun**

MB1006082989 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 9-14 Jun 89 p 4

["Apartheid Barometer"]

[Text] SECTION 29 DETENTIONS

On April 23 this year the minister of law and order said in parliament that 82 people were being detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

**WESTERN CAPE DETENTIONS**

At least five people were detained in the Western Cape between May 18 and May 24, three of whom were still being held at the end of last month, according to figures released by the Repression Monitoring Group.

Bulelwa Ntutu was detained on May 18 and released five days later. Thanduxolo Sogoni was detained on May 18, Mvuleni Yengeni, 15, was detained on May 23 and Mkhusele Mlunguza and Mangaliso Dolosi were detained on May 24. Dolosi was charged with public violence on May 26.

Other Western Cape detainees released were hunger striker Andile Jonas (Emergency detention—13 days, May 23) and Miranda Sineli (section 29—41 days, May 24).

**WESTERN CAPE POLITICAL TRIALS**

A total of 439 people were charged in political trials which were completed in the Western Cape last year, according to figures compiled by the Repression Monitoring Group.

In these trials 183 people were found guilty, 99 were acquitted, and charges were withdrawn against 157.

These trials fell into the following categories: public violence—24 guilty, 37 acquitted, 30 charges withdrawn; furthering the aims of banned organisations—eight guilty, two acquitted, eight charges withdrawn; murder/attempted murder—nine guilty, one acquitted, 103 charges withdrawn; assault—two guilty, three acquitted, two charges withdrawn; possession of firearms/explosives—two guilty, six acquitted; possession of banned/subversive literature—six guilty, seven acquitted, two charges withdrawn; terrorism—seven guilty; contravening the Internal Security Act—eight guilty, one acquitted; illegal gathering—103 guilty, 24 acquitted, one charges withdrawn; malicious damage to property—one guilty, four charges withdrawn; arson—one guilty, four acquitted; harbouring guerrillas—one charges withdrawn; obstructing traffic (protestors)—six charges withdrawn; trespassing—two guilty.

**HUNGER STRIKES**

A total of 927 detainees went on hunger strike between January 23 and March 27 this year, according to figures compiled by the Human Rights Commission. These detainees were involved in 28 separate hunger strikes. At least 65 resumed their hunger strikes on at least one occasion.

The HRC recorded 11 incidents of groups of people outside of detention, involving several thousand people, engaging in solidarity hunger fasts between February 9 and March 9.

The HRC also recorded nine hunger strikes by detainees between October 24 1988 and January 19 1989.

At least 130 hunger strikers were hospitalised between January 23 and March 31, according to figures compiled by the HRC.

**PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE**

Blessing Sibusiso Ndlovu, 20, Soweto Students' Congress leader, was detained under the Emergency regulations on May 29 for the second time this year, and is still being held.

Ndlovu, a former SRC [Students' Representative Council] president at the Mokgome High School in Meadowlands, Soweto, was detained on April 28 1988 and was released with an Emergency regulation restriction order on February 27 this year. He had been on a hunger strike for 17 days prior to his release.

He is currently being held in Bloemfontein's Grootvlei Prison, where he was transferred with five other detainees after starting a hunger strike on May 29.

Ndlovu, who is a standard nine student, was living with his mother and seven brothers at the time of his detention.

**BANNED BOOKS, OBJECTS AND PUBLICATIONS**

Banned for distribution and importation: Bigger than Jesus—Kalahari Surfers Record Cover (Shifty Records); Sexual Positions Including G-Spot Orgasm (not stated); The Art of Sensual Loving (Dr Andrew Stanway); English Eroticism (Pierre Lorenzoni); Das Raft (Bradford Cat); five films—Crybord Damned Gold; Just a Damned Soldier; Drive-in Matinee; Inferno in Safehaven and Slaughterhouse Rock.

Restricted: 101 Erotische Bett Geschichten, (Lionel Faber—permit required).

Unbanned: Penis-shaped rubber vibrator with protuberance in the form of a Koala Bear and Super Satisfaction Multi-Speed Stimulator—still not to be displayed for purpose of distribution.

**14 Jun Press Review on Current Problems, Issues**  
MB1406133589

[Editorial Report]

**CAPE TIMES**

**'Revolution' Assertions Not Enough for Emergency**—A page 6 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 12 June reads: "The renewal of the state of emergency for yet another 12 months is an admission by the NP [National Party] that South Africa cannot be governed in good order under the ordinary law of the land. To keep the peace, we are told, the state must again be given sweeping powers to ban, silence and detain citizens without reference to the courts. The unwholesome tyranny is said to be essential in the national interest, and we are told that the press must be muzzled and citizens kept in the dark. Assertions that the country is on the brink of a revolution which would burst forth if the emergency were lifted are either well-founded or they are not. If they are well-founded, we are reinforced in our view that the NP can no longer govern this country in the Western tradition. The NP has so signally failed to resolve this country's political and constitutional problems, we conclude, that they have no option, on their own admission, but to rule by decree, whatever the effect on confidence and the economy. Then there is the other view—that the state of the nation is neither as alarmist nor as gloomy as the NP's own statements and actions suggest. If this is true, then the NP is even more culpable of placing its urge for power above the interests of the country, shattering confidence and driving away the investment capital which is essential for growth. Even if allowance is made for the press restrictions, which muffle reality and leave people ignorant, the fact remains that peace and stability prevail. The continuance of emergency rule in this region, and in many other parts of the country, is simply not justified on the grounds of assertions that a 'revolutionary climate' persists. If there is such a climate, it is rooted in legitimate political grievance—and will only be redressed by a new constitution which enshrines equal rights and opportunities for all."

**TRANSVALER**

**Democratic Party Victory No Swing to Left**—"It is understandable why there is so much excitement, particularly in opposition circles from the left, over results of the Johannesburg municipal byelection of ward three," notes Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 12

June in a page 6 editorial. "If the Democratic Party is naive enough to think this is the first sign of a big swing to the left, they are sadly mistaken." "The little success in Linden does not lessen the Democratic Party's responsibility of putting its house in order and outlining its policy." "Perhaps the result was not because of discontent over free settlement areas in Linden; the result should be seen as a warning to the government that we are discontent with the shape of the economy, with the slow progress on reform, and with the obvious contentment with which issues of the day are handled." "We anxiously await the outcome of the party's federal congress in Pretoria later this month."

**DIE BURGER**

**Treurnicht Must Make AWB Position Clear**—Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 12 June warns in its page 8 editorial that "Conservative Party [CP] leader Andries Treurnicht has a problem with Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [AWB; Afrikaner Resistance Movement] militancy because of his fence sitting." There are reports AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche is standing as a CP/AWB/HNP [Reformed National Party] alliance candidate in the September elections. "It is clear that the 'cultural' leader is seeking a power base in politics." "Dr Treurnicht's dilemma is clear: If Terreblanche enters Parliament under a right wing pact, Dr Treurnicht's leadership will be threatened, but, should he dissociate himself from the AWB, he will lose valuable right wing votes." "It is imperative that Dr Treurnicht makes his position clear as far as the AWB is concerned." "Sooner or later he will have to do it, but if matters are not brought to a head soon, a time bomb awaits the future."

**ILANGA**

**Black Groups Must Meet on Natal Violence**—"All peace loving South Africans undoubtedly are happy about the planned peace talks between the Inkatha movement, UDF [United Democratic Front], and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] to end violence that has claimed hundreds of lives among blacks in KwaZulu and Natal, mainly in Mgunundlovu," observes a page 4 editorial in Durban ILANGA in Zulu 12-14 June. "All black South Africans suffer the scourge of apartheid, so it's black on black violence." "Let there now be peace in the black community in South Africa. All blacks must support the peace efforts of those organizations for this to work." "Inkatha, the UDF, and COSATU must urgently meet to find ways of stopping this carnage."



## Ghana

### Government Bans 4 Religious Groups' Activities

AB1406153189 Accra Domestic Service in English  
1300 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] The government has ordered a freeze on the activities of two religious sects operating in the country. They are the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, also known as Mormons, and the Jehovah's Witnesses sects. The residence permits of the expatriate staff of the two sects have also been revoked and they are to leave the country within 1 week. An official statement in Accra today said despite repeated warnings, the two sects have continued to conduct themselves in a manner which does not only undermine the sovereignty of Ghana but is also not conducive to public order. The government has therefore ordered the meeting places of the Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses to remain closed throughout the country. The statement directed the inspector general of police and commander of the Civil Defense Organization to ensure compliance with the directives. Two other sects, the Nyame Som Pa Church at Ekwamkrom in the Central Region, and Jesus Christ of Dzorwulu, have been disbanded.

Meanwhile, a law requiring all religious bodies to register with the Ministry of the Interior has been signed in Accra. The law provides, among other things, for the registration of religious sects and the filing of their constitutions and annual accounts. A committee, under the Ministry of the Interior, is to make recommendations on the registration of religious bodies for approval. The Ministry of the Interior has advised followers of the disbanded sects to refrain from activities which will breach public law and order. Religious bodies whose activities, especially in the night, constitute a nuisance to other members of the public, are also advised to conduct themselves in a manner acceptable for the public good.

### PNDC Grants Prisoners Amnesty on Anniversary

AB1306220689 Accra Domestic Service in English  
2000 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] A number of prisoners were released at the weekend on license in an amnesty granted by the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] in connection with the 10th anniversary of the June 4 uprising. An official statement says the prisoners are made up of those who had by 31 December last year served half of their sentences without any remission and were not convicted of any of the offenses of subversion, murder, manslaughter, rape, narcotic trafficking, and economic sabotage.

On the terms of their license, they are to report themselves within 1 week of their release to their district assemblies, which have been charged with the responsibility for their rehabilitation in the community. The prisoners on license cannot leave their hometown without the express authorization of their district assembly. The statement said the prisoners will be on license until

the district assembly is of the opinion that the prisoner has sufficiently responded to the rehabilitation process. Thereafter, the assembly will be at liberty to recommend unconditional release.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Interior has directed the release from prison of 139 prisoners who were among those repatriated from Nigeria last December.

### 'Bilateral Meeting' With Niger Opens 14 Jun

AB1406191689 Accra Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] The secretary for foreign affairs, Dr Obed Asamoah, has called for stronger cooperation among African countries to be able to withstand the serious economic difficulties facing them. He made the call at the opening session of a bilateral meeting in Accra today between Ghana and Niger. The meeting is expected to review the state of cooperation between the two countries in the fields of trade and commerce.

Dr Asamoah, who is leading the Ghanaian delegation to the talks, said the world is passing through a momentous period of political and economic changes which have a bearing on Africa's future. This therefore demands closer cooperation between the countries to exchange ideas. Dr Asamoah touched on attempts to liberate Africa and urged the meeting to consider ways of assisting the Namibian independence process and fight against apartheid.

The leader of the Niger delegation, Mr (Saidou Alloh), who is also the minister of information and propaganda [name and title as heard], expressed satisfaction at the existing relations between the two countries. He noted that having identified areas of cooperation between them, and with the political will shown by their leaders, every effort should be made to translate these relations into concrete action.

### European Investment Bank Grants Gold Mine Loan

AB1306214989 Accra Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] The European Investment Bank has provided Ghana with about 30 million European Currency Units, or 3.8 billion cedis for the rehabilitation of the Tarkwa and Prestea gold mines. The loan, which will be repaid over a period of 17 years with 2 percent interest, is to help improve the reliability of the winders at the two mines to bring them up to standards.

A release from the office of the Commission of the European Communities in Accra said the loan was granted under the Lome III Convention. It forms part of the 79-billion-cedi rehabilitation program to improve operations and to restore the mines to their previous production levels.

The program is expected to be completed by 1993. The project includes the replacement or repair of equipment and development work to provide access to new ore reserve. The International Development Association and Caisse Centrale, a French aid agency, are also providing funds for the project.

**\* Gold, Diamond Purchase Figures Reported**  
*34000435a Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC*  
*in English 27 Apr 89 pp 1, 8-9*

[Article by Debrah Fynn]

[Text] The Precious Minerals Marketing Corporation (PMMC) purchased 1,582 ounces of gold between January 30 and April 21, this year.

Out of this, 1,000 ounces, worth approximately 383,440 US dollars have been shipped to overseas buyers and payment has already been effected.

Another consignment of about 650 ounces worth about 230,000 dollars will soon be shipped.

Mr K. A. Quansah, Managing Director of PMMC, disclosed this when the Graphic contacted him to find out about the impact so far made on the corporation's operations since the government regularised small-scale gold and diamond mining early this year.

Until the government regularised small-scale mining, popularly known as Galamsey, gold purchases from this sector was solely in the hands of private individuals, mostly foreigners, who smuggled them outside the country to the disadvantage of Ghanaians.

The PMMC, formerly called the Diamond Marketing Corporation, was up till the beginning of this year only engaged in the purchase of diamonds.

Mr Quansah said the corporation is now purchasing an average of about 250 ounces net weight of gold a week through its licenced buying agents throughout the country.

Individuals are also at liberty to sell gold to the corporation, but they cannot do it on a regular basis without registering as agents of the corporation.

Mr Quansah stated that prices offered by the corporation are in several cases better than those offered by illegal buyers-adding that "there is no risk selling to the corporation while the risk involved in dealing with illegal buyers is very high".

He explained that just like the foreign exchange bureau system, the corporation in most cases, does not ask questions when buying gold from its agents and individuals.

"What we normally do is to find out from the seller the area where the gold is coming from to enable us to provide the necessary information for land reclamation and environmental controls in those areas", he said.

Mr Quansah said, however, that in so doing, the corporation does not condone or encourage people to steal gold from the established mines and other people's concessions.

He conceded that illegal trading in gold has not been totally arrested but expressed the hope that through public education and co-operation from the security agencies, these activities would be eradicated from that sector.

As regards diamonds, Mr Quansah said the corporation purchased an average of 8,700 carats for January and February, this year.

In March, however, the figure, he said, dropped to just over 4,000 carats.

He attributed the drop to the sudden influx of illegal traders into the diamond digging areas and who, according to him, offered more attractive prices than what the corporation now offers.

"Even though the prices we offer are attractive, illegal traders afford to overpay the diggers", Mr Quansah stated.

**\* Three Japanese Assistance Agreements Signed**  
*34000435b Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC*  
*in English 28 Apr 89 p 6*

[Article by Samuel Sarpong]

[Excerpt] Ghana and Japan on Wednesday signed and exchanged three sets of notes under which Japan will extend grant assistance totalling 890 million yen (approximately \$6.8 million) to the country.

They are in the areas of rural development, maternal and child nutrition improvement and the rehabilitation of laboratories of the Faculty of Science, University of Ghana, Legon.

In the first agreement, the Japanese Government will provide 420 million yen for the Rural Development Project. This grant will be directed to the improvement of the living conditions of Ghanaians particularly those living in the rural areas.

With the second agreement, 300 million yen grant will be given to the government for the Maternal and Child Nutrition Improvement Programme.



The extension of 170 million yen under the third agreement would be used to purchase equipment and materials to rehabilitate the laboratories of the Faculty of Science, University of Ghana, Legon.

Dr Ibn Chambas, Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who signed on behalf of the country stated that the three sectors of the economy which the grants will be used to support are areas which the government considers very important in its desire to improve the economic social and human resource base of the country. [as published]

He was appreciative of the successful conclusions of negotiations in respect of the rehabilitation of laboratories of the Faculty of Science at the University of Ghana, Legon. [passage omitted]

**\* Trade Union Leader Optimistic About Economy**  
34000435c Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC  
in English 29 Apr 89 p 11

[Article by Ho]

[Text] Mr. A. K. Yankey, Secretary-General of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), has explained that though the minimum wage of C170 per day was insignificant to workers, organised labour accepted that amount because the economy could not support any objective demand for a living wage.

He was, however, optimistic that the economic situation would improve for Ghanaian workers to have a just reward for their labour.

Mr Yankey was addressing a press conference at Ho in the Volta Region on Thursday in connection with this year's "May Day" celebration which falls on Monday.

He said Ghana lost more than C100 million dollars on cocoa export through fluctuation on the world commodity market and might lose twice the amount this year if the trend continues.

Apart from Ghana paying higher prices for her essential imports, he noted that it spends about 70 percent of her export earnings to service her foreign debts.

Mr Yankey, however, expressed concern about what he called the spate of exhortations by some public officials for increase in productivity in the country "without the necessary logistic support."

He further pointed out that no amount of exhortations could lead to increased productivity unless the government and employers endeavour to supply the necessary inputs and equipment.

The Secretary-General also hinted that the TUC is embarking upon a decentralised programme whereby all districts would formulate and implement their own educational programmes.

The decentralisation exercise, he noted, will enable as many workers as possible to benefit from the TUC's educational programme, especially on trade unionism and the socio-economic development of the country.

He also called on the government to provide an efficient health policy at reasonable cost to Ghanaians, and restore the subsidy on health, education and public utilities to ease the financial burden on workers.

Furthermore, he called on the government to expedite action on the proposed National Health Insurance Scheme so that the health needs of the people can be adequately catered for.

Mr Yankey also indicated that the unemployment situation continues to worsen and urged the government to offer incentives to the youth to go into private business and agriculture.

He commended workers for maintaining industrial peace in the past few years and hoped they would continue to maintain this goodwill in the years ahead.

He hinted that the conversion of the Social Security Scheme might be implemented before the end of the year.

Also present at the ceremony include Mr Dennis K. Y. Vormawor, chairman of the TUC.

## Mali

**Traore Opens UDPM National Council Session**  
AB1306131889 Bamako Domestic Service in French  
1500 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Excerpts] The Seventh Session of the National Council of the Democratic Union of Malian People [UDPM] opened this morning in the conference hall of the National Assembly building. It was presided over by the UDPM secretary general. Also present were members of the Central Executive Bureau [BEC], members of government, of the National Assembly Executive Bureau, and the Economic and Social Council, as well as all the members of democratic organizations. [passage omitted]

In his opening address, General Moussa Traore, UDPM secretary general and head of state, recalled some actions of the party. These concern reforms, the policy of cadres, and so forth.

[Begin Traore recording] The Seventh Session of the National Council of the UDPM which opens today is in line with the resolutions for change made at the third ordinary congress of the party. These measures put the party's national executive body at the center of the political, social, and economic activities of our country. [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen, as I declare open this Seventh Session of the national council, I would like to recall some of the highlights of the party's actions. Once again, I would like to reaffirm the willingness of the UDPM to pursue with full force the efforts to ensure moral probity in public life. This effort is the prerequisite for successfully implementing on economic reforms fostering national pride, and maintaining the unity of the active forces of the nation. [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen, as the term of office entrusted to our country by the OAU is coming to an end, I would like to emphasize the efforts and achievements made in finding solutions to the continent's problems. Remarkable results were achieved in the settlement of the Chad-Libya dispute thanks to the desire for peace clearly expressed by President Hissein Habre and Colonel Mu'ammad al-Qadhafi. Relations between the two brotherly and neighboring countries improved considerably.

The Western Sahara issue too has developed well to the satisfaction of all the sides concerned. The contact already made between the Polisario Front and Moroccans and the general climate prevailing in the Maghreb favoring peace and cooperation are objective reasons that lead us to be optimistic.

The situation in southern Africa has witnessed a political evolution with the effective implementation of the Namibian independence process. The People's Republic of Angola and Cuba have played a decisive role in this evolution, thanks to their renewed willingness to restore peace and security to the subregion. However, more than ever before, vigilance must double, because the Pretoria regime, which is constrained by the pressure of the reality of the military situation and the reality of international public opinion, will seize any opportunity to return to [words indistinct].

Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot end this review of African problems without mentioning the future of relations between Mauritania and Senegal. The regrettable incidents which took place in these two countries, cannot and must not disturb the brotherhood between Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal which are bound together by geography, history, and blood. Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal have a common future to build and will do so by overcoming all the circumstantial obstacles, knowing fully well that what binds us is stronger than what divides us. Our country is conscious of its [word indistinct] role and will make the necessary sacrifices to help overcome the aftereffects of events no one wanted. This is the occasion for me to praise the open-mindedness of my brothers and friends Maaouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya and Abdou Diouf for their readiness and determination to settle peacefully the problems caused by the painful events we all know.

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the National Council, for 4 days you will make decisions on all issues concerning the country. I am convinced that the decisions that will be

made this meeting will be sealed with [word indistinct] and realism. I am also convinced that they will be made in the highest interest of our people. You had the opportunity to review and define some of these interests during tours made by the delegations of the National Council. The knowledge of problems at the grassroots level, will help us find the most appropriate solutions to the problem with which we are (?confronted.) I wish success to your meeting and declare open the Seventh Ordinary Session of the UDPM National Council. [end recording]

#### **Traore Receives Senegalese, Diouf Message**

*AB1406081889 Bamako Domestic Service in French  
2000 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] General Moussa Traore, secretary general of the Democratic Union of Malian People [UDPM] and president of the Republic of Mali today received at the National Assembly hall Senegalese Foreign Minister Ibrahima Fall, who delivered a message from President Abdou Diouf of Senegal. The message concerned the efforts initiated by Mali to restore calm, security, and understanding between the peoples of Mauritania and Senegal. It will be recalled that Senegalese Foreign Minister Ibrahima Fall led his country's delegation to the deliberations of the Mauritania-Mali-Senegal Tripartite Commission that took place recently in Bamako. That meeting certainly contributed to the relaxation of tensions. When President Moussa Traore received the two delegations after that meeting he said: This issue is a difficult one, but it can be settled, because what unites our peoples is more important than what can divide them.

Yesterday the UDPM secretary general again stated in his opening address at the seventh session of the National Council meeting that the Malian people will make all necessary sacrifices in order to restore peace between the brotherly peoples of Mauritania and Senegal after the painful, unexpected incidents.

After reading President Abdou Diouf's message, Gen Moussa Traore stressed to Ibrahima Fall: Tell my brother President Abdou Diouf that his search for peace in the subregion is positive. The head of state specified that he would send Colonel Issa Ongoiba, minister of territorial administration and grassroots development, to Nouakchott in line with the good faith shown by Presidents Maaouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya and Abdou Diouf in the search for a peaceful settlement to the situation.

The audience took place in the presence of the minister secretary general of the presidency, Django Cissoko; the minister of justice and keeper of the seals, Mamadou Cissoko, representing the foreign minister; Col Ongoiba; the minister of transport and tourism, Zeini Moulaye; and advisers Tidiani Guisse and Tiona Mathieu Kone.

## Niger

### Prime Minister Discusses Political Situation

AB1306184289 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN  
in French 13 Jun 89 p 24

[Interview with Niger Prime Minister Mamane Oumarou by Alfred Dan Moussa; in Niamey; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Dan Moussa] Judging from Niger's experience in politics and administration, what are the responsibilities of a prime minister now and in the future?

[Oumarou] At present and even in the future, the role of the prime minister within the government, if you have had the opportunity to peruse our draft constitution, is that of organizer, coordinator, and supervisor of government action. It is therefore different from what can be seen in some countries where the prime minister is the head of government.

[Dan Moussa] Does it mean that you do not intervene in choosing the members of government and in the composition of the Cabinet?

[Oumarou] That is obvious. Given the fact that the prime minister is not the head of government, it is not his responsibility to appoint the members of the Cabinet. But in his capacity as the associate of the president of the republic, it is normal that, as part of the cooperation between them, the head of state should ask his opinion regarding the choice of certain personalities to occupy certain posts in the government. Otherwise, the prime minister as such does not appoint the ministers. It is the responsibility of the head of state and head of the government to name his associates, including the prime minister.

[Dan Moussa] The last cabinet reshuffle, which took place on 19 May, was announced at 1300. Did you know the new Cabinet a few hours before it was made public?

[Oumarou] Yes, I saw the list of the new cabinet before it was made public.

[Dan Moussa] In every cabinet reshuffle, the number of military men on the Cabinet has remained the same or decreased. What is your interpretation of what I see as the progressive demilitarization of the Cabinet?

[Oumarou] My interpretation? I would say it is a manifestation of the head of state's wish to normalize things, as can be seen from changes in the country since 1974. Niger has an exceptional regime, which is a military one: for a certain number of years, both our late president, Seyni Kountche, and his successor, President Ali Saibou, expressed the wish for the return to a normal constitutional life. The result, in principle, should be the composition of a government made up of civilians and soldiers. Therefore, this demilitarization, to use your own term, is a normal thing for us to do because it underlies our head of state's wish to normalize things.

[Dan Moussa] How do you think the public is interpreting what you call the wish to normalize things: are the military preparing for a civilian to take over?

[Oumarou] You know, everyone is free to make his own interpretation. There are many people who think like you. Of course, I do not agree with those people because I was appointed in 1983 by the late President Seyni Kountche as prime minister and was confirmed by President Ali Saibou, and it was simply because they trust me. It is a sign of trust which I do not in any way see as an attempt on their part to prepare me for the post of president.

Many observers of Niger political life and other analysts have interpreted the situation in their own ways. It is there right. As far as I am concerned, I would say that neither of the presidents told me that. They only said that I must ensure the coordination of the government.

[Dan Moussa] This is sign of trust that simply ensures governmental coordination. But if, for one reason or another, you were asked to be the president of the republic, what would you do?

[Oumarou] Since the establishment of our institutions and the organs of our National Movement of the Development Society one does not run for the presidency in Niger; it is the Supreme Council of National Orientation (CSON) that chooses the candidate for the presidency of the republic. Therefore, I do not think it rational for me to show an interest in running for president. This is a problem that has already been solved and will be solved, when the time comes, by the CSN.

[Dan Moussa] Let us suppose that one day the CSN chooses the prime minister—which you currently are—as candidate for the presidency and you thus become the candidate for president. What would be your reaction?

[Oumarou] If that ever happened I would not know what to say. I am just a servant of the state. When the time comes, the head of state and the established institutions will take the necessary measures in accordance with the laws in effect. The choice could be another citizen, another minister. Everything will depend on the prevailing situation. At this moment, I think it is difficult to give an accurate answer.

[Dan Moussa] The new laws make you the third highest ranking state official, behind the head of state and the CSN political secretary. How do you feel now that you have moved from second to third?

[Oumarou] I can tell you that the order of precedence does not mean a lot in any case. I think that the most important thing is the trust you are given and the ability to serve the country in any position. This is how I feel about it.



[Dan Moussa] Observers have commented that your election as the next speaker of the National Assembly is part of efforts to help you become the second highest ranking state official again.

[Oumarou] As I have said, the most important thing is to serve the country in any position. It does not really matter to me whether I am in the National Assembly, in the prime minister's office, or elsewhere. I do not have any objection to serving in any position, especially one in which the head of state thinks I could better serve Niger.

[Dan Moussa] Niger will soon hold presidential, legislative, and municipal elections. Can you tell us about the positions to be filled and give us your position this broad-based electoral movement?

[Oumarou] The number of members of the National Assembly? It is difficult to give an accurate figure because the organization of the elections has not been finalized. The division of the territory into districts is continuing. Thus, it is difficult to give figures for the legislative elections, which will be held next December, as well as for the municipal ones scheduled for 1990. What is certain is that by then, new municipalities will be created. What is my stand on this broad-based electoral movement of democratization? Being a part of the team which has thought over and worked for our country's return to democracy, I fully share the belief that it is a good thing to put Niger on the path to democracy. It is a good thing, because we believe this choice is fully backed by all Nigerois. I am among those who believe and support this project.

[passage omitted] [Dan Moussa] When you talk about legitimacy of the Islamic religion because of the number of Muslims in the country, one has the tendency to ask whether or not Niger might one day become an Islamic republic.

[Oumarou] Niger become an Islamic republic? This is possible, but ... In any case, there are some people who, because of the percentage of Muslims in the country—95 percent—might want Niger to become an Islamic republic. There are some people who cherish this idea.

However, we think that the wisest solution is to respect all religions. Some of our countrymen are Catholics or animists ... the fact remains that the government's stand is to allow everyone to practice the religion of his choice even if it is the wish of the majority that Niger become an Islamic republic. The most important thing is to tolerate the existence of all religions, and of course, tolerance is one of the virtues of Islam.

[Dan Moussa] The promotion of the private sector is one of the concerns of the government, and for this reason it established the Program of Supporting Private Sector Initiatives and the Creation of Employment [PAIPCE] and the revised the investment code. What is the reaction of national and foreign businessmen to this?

[Oumarou] To the foreigners, who are eventually the investors, the measure is a welcome one in areas where it brings about more advantages and releases financial constraints, as compared to the previous situation.

Among the Niger citizens, and especially among the traditional traders, the emergence of young cadres who are traders and businessmen was accepted with difficulty. The traditional traders see the younger traders as serious competitors, forgetting that there is much more to be done in this sector in Niger and that there is room for everyone.

[Dan Moussa] What will be the role of the civil servants that the PAIPCE has been calling upon to resign and join the private sector?

[Oumarou] According to the candidates and their intentions, one can say that there has been a real surge by them toward the PAIPCE; and yet there has been some hesitation. And why not? This hesitation of some civil servants must be understood because their salaries were paid monthly by the Civil Service. But now, they have to run the risk of undertaking a commercial activity, the outcome of which is uncertain. What is comforting is the reassuring reports that come from those who first benefited from the program and who do not hesitate to point out the great opportunities for success in the programs that are supported by the government. The state's problem is how to provide the necessary material resources to those who have expressed willingness to undertake this or that project. This, in the first place, is the weakness of all administrations. Niger's weakness lies in the government's inability to put at the disposal of PAIPCE officials enough resources to enable them to generate sufficient revenue later. But all the same, one can only undertake projects within the reach of one's resources. We are going through a period of structural adjustment and general crisis. Certainly, an insufficient amount of money has been given to the various PAIPCE candidates, but each one of them must be content and remember that other facilities will come later.

[Dan Moussa] Please give me an idea about the money to support the PAIPCE.

[Oumarou] What is worth noting is that there is an initial payment consisting of various indemnities, according to the worker's category and support for his activity depending, of course, on his ability to obtain a line of credit from the bank.

[Dan Moussa] You spoke of a period of crisis which inevitably had an effect on the budget and the debt, is this not so?

[Oumarou] Of course, yes. Our debt is reasonable. Because of the recent negotiations, I cannot give you any exact figures. What is true is that Niger met with the Paris Club and the London Club. We are also holding discussions with the Arab countries... There is, therefore,

considerable readjustment to make. Our total debt is not much, especially since we have tried to honor our obligations over the past few years despite our budgetary difficulties caused by subregional and national economic difficulties.

Because of the improvement in the rainfall pattern, we got some breathing space. Economic activities have resumed, and our GNP increased by 11 percent in 1988. Thus our position, while not good, is still reasonable.

**Libyan-Financed Mosque Presentation Ceremony**  
*AB1306115389 Niamey Domestic Service in French*  
0600 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] The official presentation of the Niamey major mosque to the Niger Islamic Association is the major news feature. The ceremony took place yesterday in the presence of several cabinet members, the Libyan ambassador to Niger, and several other guests. This mosque, whose construction was financed by Libya, cost 1.15 billion CFA francs. It can hold up to 10,000 faithful. The presentation of the secretary of the Libyan People's association for the Call to Islam, the Libyan ambassador to our country, and the president of the Niger Islamic Association spoke at yesterday afternoon's ceremony. They emphasized the quality and excellent relations between Libya and Niger. Following the ceremony, the Libyan ambassador and the president of the Niger Islamic Association signed an agreement of cooperation between it and Islamic Association of the Libyan Arab Republic.

**Nigeria**

**PLO's 'Arafat Arrives in Abuja on 2-Day Visit**  
*AB1406102289 Lagos Domestic Service in English*  
0600 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] President Yasir 'Arafat of Palestine is expected in Abuja today on a state visit to Nigeria. He will be met on arrival by President Ibrahim Babangida, the minister of external affairs; Major General Ike Nwachukwu, and other senior officials of the ministry. President 'Arafat will hold talks with General Babangida after which he will meet ambassadors of Arab countries in Nigeria. A state dinner will later be held for the Palestinian leader. The visit will last 2 days.

**Meets With Babangida**  
*AB1406212689 Lagos Domestic Service in English*  
1800 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Nigerian and Palestinian officials are holding talks in Abuja. Their discussion covers political and cultural cooperation between the two countries. President Yasir 'Arafat of Palestine arrived in Abuja today on a 2-day official visit to Nigeria. Shortly on arrival, he held his first round of private talks with President Ibrahim Babangida. Later this evening, the Palestinian leader will meet all Arab ambassadors accredited to Nigeria. President Babangida

will host his Palestinian counterpart at a state banquet tonight. A conducted tour of the federal city has been arranged for President 'Arafat. For more on President 'Arafat's visit, here is a report filed by State House correspondent Reginald Okoje:

[Begin studio announcer recording] President Yasir 'Arafat arrived at Abuja airport in an Iraqi aircraft. As the plane taxied to a halt, he emerged wearing a smart green military uniform, a colorful headgear, and his usual short gun on the left-hand side of his trousers. President 'Arafat walked down the gangway into the warm embrace of President Ibrahim Babangida. Then a 21-gun salute was fired. In a military fashion, President 'Arafat inspected the guard of honor mounted by a detachment of the brigade of (?guards). President 'Arafat said the 21-gun salute and the guard of honor mounted for him confirmed that Nigeria has accorded full recognition to the status of the Palestinian state. A number of Palestinians who have lived in Nigeria for many years were at the airport to receive their leader. Normal business activities at Abuja International Airport came to a standstill as the workers looked out of their offices to see the famous PLO leader. Many people openly showed admiration for the charisma and smartness of President 'Arafat, who is in his late fifties. The minister of external affairs, Major General Ike Nwachukwu, described the visit of the PLO leader as a solidarity one. [end recording]

**\* Moderation of 'Structural Adjustment' Urged**  
*34000495b Lagos THE GUARDIAN in English*  
1 May 89 p 8

[Text] For most Nigerians, these are indeed hard times. Few can recall a period when it was as difficult as it is now for an individual to procure the basic necessities of life and fulfill his obligations to his family. Hundreds of thousands are jobless, and their ranks are swelling by the day. Those who have jobs are squeezed as never before. As each day passes, they find that they have to fork out more and more naira to buy fewer goods and services.

Market forces are firmly in the saddle and it seems there is no taming them.

So far, the people have borne their privations with admirable equanimity. In word and in deed, they have by and large supported the painful measures that a structural adjustment policy necessarily entails. They do not see as attractive models the riots triggered off by similar measures in Algeria, Yugoslavia, Argentina and most recently in Jordan. That does not mean, however, that the bitter pill of SAP [South African Police] should not be sweetened occasionally.

The drive toward a market economy must not imply the absolute sovereignty of market forces. Planners and policy makers must always keep in focus the fundamental truth that the economy exists to serve the populace and not the other way around; that without a populace,



there will be no economy. There is an urgent need, therefore, to put the forces of the market on a leash and protect vulnerable sections of the population from their ravenous onslaught.

Since the coming of SAP, the welfare state which was already well in the making, has been in full retreat. Services for which only a token fee or no fee was demanded now attract charges. At a time when wages have remained static, the cost of everything has gone up. Food, health care and transportation have become luxuries to some segments of the population. Refuse dumps have become the unaccustomed haunts of desperate citizens scavenging for food scraps.

Meanwhile, NEPA [expansion unknown] is set to raise electricity tariffs at least two-fold. According to speculations, petrol, whose pump price was raised only last January to much popular grief, is marked for another hefty increase from 60 kobo per litre for private motorists and 42 kobo per litre for commercial vehicles to a uniform price of 98 kobo per litre. This is being done, it is said, to remove the remnants of a subsidy whose existence is stoutly denied or at any rate seriously disputed by the public.

If they materialize, these projected increases can only exacerbate a level of deprivation that is already quite acute, for industrial users will simply pass on their extra expenditure on electricity and petrol to customers of their products. The citizens must be sacrificed to market forces. The government should step in now to moderate the pains of structural adjustment even as it consolidates its gains.

**Dailies Comment on Government's Social Measures**  
*AB1206124689 Lagos Domestic Service in English*  
0600 GMT 12 Jun 89

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] The comprehensive measures announced by the federal government to cushion the painful effects of the Structural Adjustment Program [SAP] engages the attention of the NATIONAL CONCORD, the HERALD, and THE REPUBLIC. The CONCORD sees the measures as a welcome indication that the administration now recognizes the urgent need to temper the drive to efficiency with the imperative of equity. The paper is, however, worried that like most government programs, the brilliance of initiative is very rarely matched with the necessary capacity to implement them. This is why the CONCORD wants the government to constitute a small but high-powered committee charged with overseeing the day-to-day implementation, overall coordination, and periodic evaluation of these initiatives.

The HERALD says the quick response of the federal government, in spite of the riotous manner the demands were made, shows the extent to which it can go to satisfy

public yearnings. The HERALD also suggests that the measures must be implemented with the speed with which government responded to the situation that occasioned it.

In its contribution THE REPUBLIC hopes the measures will lighten the burden of the Structural Adjustment Program borne by businessmen as well as the low- and middle-income earners. The paper agrees with the president that it will be suicidal for the nation to abandon SAP in midstream. To go back to SAP, THE REPUBLIC warns, is to plunge our country into more vicious economic tribulations for which posterity would not forgive the present leadership.

Writing on the same issue, the SKETCH sees the recent violent demonstrations in the country as a revolt against the implementation of the objectives of SAP and the program per se. The paper wonders why the benefits and sufferings of SAP had not been shared equally by all the people. It says it does not believe that SAP intended to stifle life out of the people, stressing that it should only be accompanied by minimum hardship and not to dehumanize the citizens. The spontaneity of the protest, the SKETCH argues, imposes on government the need to continuously work out relief programs to ease the effects of SAP.

**6-Year-Old Kano State Curfew To Continue**  
*AB1406215089 Lagos Domestic Service in English*  
2100 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Excerpt] The curfew imposed on Kano State 6 years ago because of some criminal activities is to remain in force. The state governor, Colonel Idriss Garba, who made this known, said that intelligence reports indicated that activities that led to its imposition had not abated. He stated that it was not the intention of the government to extend the curfew a day longer when [words indistinct] unnecessary. [passage omitted]

**Youth Council Urges Dialogue With Authorities**  
*AB1406102389 Lagos Domestic Service in English*  
0600 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] The National Youth Council of Nigeria has urged various youth organizations in the country to take steps that will prevent youths from being mobilized for negative purposes. In a statement in Lagos yesterday, its national president, Mr Makole Azugbeme, asked student leaders to enter into dialogue with government rather than confrontation. He said the council believes in protestations against any action considered unjust, but it would not support destruction of lives and property.

Mr Azugbeme observed that the recent student disturbances was exploited by those he described as lawless elements and he (?pleaded) with the Federal Government to hasten its action on suspects detained in connection with the incident so that innocent ones were not made to suffer.

### Security Increase at Lagos Airport Announced

AB1406211089 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] All security personnel are now to be positioned at strategic areas at Murtala Muhammed International Airport, Ikeja, to curb increasing wave of crimes. The decision to this effect was taken by the Nigerian Airports Authority after consultations with the heads of security agencies at the airport. A Radio Nigeria aviation correspondent reports that this year alone, not less than 150 persons have been arrested for various offenses. Four persons were shot dead within the same period for attempting to remove passengers' luggage from the conveyor belt. An official of the Airports Authority told our correspondent that the issuance of identity cards to all persons having legitimate business at the airport was being considered as another measure to reduce the rate of crimes.

### Senegal

#### \* Coup Attempt Charges Called Unfounded

34190200a Dakar SUD HEBDO in French  
20 Apr 89 pp 1, 5

[Article by Babacar Toure: "True Story of a False Plot"; first paragraph is SUD HEBDO introduction]

[Text] General Joseph Louis Tavares da Souza has just been officially relieved of his duties as Senegal's ambassador to Bonn after being officially retired for "serious fault in service and military discipline in the exercise of his duties." Colonel Oumar Ndiaye and Lieutenant-Colonel Didier Bampassy, former commander of the Commandos Battalion, have been struck from the list of officers and NCO's. That is the gist of a government communique disseminated yesterday by state media. A priori, General Tavares da Souza, who had already retired in June 1988 after 35 years of service, is "being retired" a second time. That is a euphemism signifying that he also has been struck from a list, specifically that of second Army section, where retired generals receive in full their preretirement monthly salary for life and still bear the title of general. No mention was made of the fate of the other two officers, Commander Ibrahima Gabar Diop and Lieutenant-Colonel Francois Gomis. They, along with Colonel Ndiaye and Colonel Bampassy were arraigned before an "investigatory council" whose "conclusions the president of the republic ratified 'yesterday'." According to the Senegalese Press Agency wire that picked up the government's information, that last statement contradicts information that the disciplinary council had found no fault during its 31 March and 1 April meetings, and thus no reason to strike the incriminated officers from the rolls. The two survivors, Commander Diop and Colonel Gomis, are reputed "careerists." Unconfirmed sources specify that it was Colonel Gomis, "worked on" by the hierarchy, who gave damning testimony against his colleagues. As for Commander Gabar Diop, former assistant of Abdou Diouf when the

latter was prime minister, he is said to have asked for clemency in a letter addressed to the president of the republic. These measures are being taken as SUD HEBDO winds up a several-week-long investigation to bring you the true story of what appears to be a false plot.

In March of 1988 Dakar had erupted. Riots were breaking out nearly everywhere in the peninsular city and spreading rapidly to the suburbs. People were being arrested in batches, starting with the opposition ranks, notably that part of the opposition that had participated in the 28 February presidential and legislative elections. As early as 1 March, Abdoulaye Wade (Senegalese Democratic Party), Amath Dansokho (Party for Independence and Labor), Abdoulaye Bathily (Democratic League—Movement for the Labor Party), and many of their militants or sympathizers were thrown in the slammer. The reason: threatening state security. Evermore-violent challenges of electoral results produced an initial outcome, a state of emergency. Decreed for the entire region of Dakar, it was constantly violated by demonstrators protesting against the imprisonment of their leaders and what they considered to be the "highjacking" of their votes. Among the protagonists in the debate, which had moved to the street, were the army, the police, and the Gendarmerie. Their objective was clear—to maintain order. But if that was business as usual for the police and the Gendarmerie, the same cannot be said of the armed forces. It is not the latter's mission to maintain order and its personnel are not trained to the task. All the same, they carried out orders side by side with the other security forces. It is not likely that they did so without emotion. Soldiers appointed to guard polling places in groups of two did not have an easy time of it, since their clearly inadequate numbers did not allow them to provide the necessary security. Most of them were recruits. Some of them were unable to accompany the ballot boxes to their final destination. As one soldier testifies: "What can you do when the deputy or local VIP tells you there's no room for you in his vehicle and decides to leave with the ballot box? All you can do is hitchhike back to your base!" The confusion, quarrels, challenges, even irregularities, observed during voting and vote counting surely made an "impression" on these soldiers instilled with a sense of order and discipline.

What effect did February 1988 have on these men little accustomed to the tricks of politicians? The commanders, because of their high educational level and devotion to republican institutions, unhesitatingly and without muttering kept an eye out for trouble. Until the end of April, when everything could have toppled. With confrontations becoming increasingly violent and repeated, rumors swept the city. The socialists, but also their opposition political adversaries, were armed to the teeth. If Wade and those indicted with him were sentenced at the end of the trial begun 21 April, the odds were that the disturbances would spill over into civil war. There would be chaos and anarchy! No one, in principle, would want to see that happen.

Not in any case the head of the army, the increasingly worried General Tavares Da Souza, who summoned

Colonel Oumar Ndiaye, army intendant. The latter, a brilliant manager, rigorous and honest to the point of being troublesome, had brought down budget defrauders. The ugly truth uncovered by the colonel consisted of a scheme to charge the state budget for phony medical care payable to physician-owners of private clinics and physical therapists in the square. Heads rolled, including that of Dr Albert Bachir, owner of the Yamile clinic, who spent several months in prison.

This affair, like that of illicit pocket lining, did not get far. Some big fish caught in the net of Colonel Ndiaye, at that time inspector-general of Health in the ministry of the same name, managed to slip through the mesh. Colonel Ndiaye could not help feeling frustration on some level. He confided in Dr Bachir who, as an intellectual with a keen sense of excess, quickly understood that this "Saint Just" in uniform was only doing his duty, without vindictiveness or complaisance. This led to a friendship and mutual esteem that the sudden death of Dr Bachir did not efface. Their eminently social relationship was later used against them as an indication of conspiracy, for which not a shred of convincing evidence, much less proof, has yet been found. This is the irreproachable individual who would become the man to destroy for certain politicians and army officers. Opportunity knocked when, faced with the deteriorating political situation and the risk of social explosion, General da Souza [issued] the mandate to summon individually and in turn the unit commanders of the commandos, parachutists, and armored tank divisions. The first to be summoned, Lieutenant-Colonel Francois Gomis, had it confirmed that he was to take orders from no one but the General Chief of Staff, General of the Armies, that is, Mr Tavares da Souza himself. "You will take charge of the presidential palace, the administrative building, and the banks located within range of the Palace." Tank-division Commander Gabar Diop, who came after Lieutenant-Colonel Gomis, was given the mission of occupying the Ministry of the Interior, Radio-Television, the Ministry of Finances, and the Treasury with his tanks. On his fourth visit Colonel Ndiaye came flanked by Commander Didier Bompassy, head of the airborne group, better known as the "paras group." This time, the colonel was asked to stay and attend the interview. It was not until that moment that he learned what it was all about, since until then, he had simply escorted his colleagues and promptly disappeared. The leader of the parachutists would "take charge of" the Medina post, the principal post, and several other "sensitive" points.

For the rest, counterparts in the Gendarmerie, police, and eventually customs would have to be advised. But this concerted effort never took place. In the meantime, the fever had dropped. Wade and his companions were released, then given amnesty. There was no "setting in of civil war" nor anarchy, despite the hot alerts and cold sweat of the post-February period.

General Tavares da Souza and his companions were never again to speak of the affair, much less to their counterparts in the other corps, since there was no

danger in the house. Had the general conspired, planned a coup, or had he carried out his mission as a professional whose duty it is to foresee all eventualities and [establish] adequate means for meeting them?

In some military circles, doubt is waved away. General da Souza's reply to General Waly Faye, Gendarmerie high commander and director of military justice, is freely quoted: "I never attempt coups, I carry them out." General Waly Faye, who was asked to "hear" General Tavares da Souza a year later, wrote his report sticking closely to the words of his counterpart, who confirmed the truth of the instructions given to his then-unit commanders. But in the mind of the former chief of staff turned diplomat, there was never any question of a coup. It was to prevent disorder, anarchy, and an eventual civil war that he had resolved to assume his responsibilities and take action. The action in this case was to protect the sensitive points identified and assigned to his men, to retake them in case they fell into the hands of the rioters, and to re-establish order whatever happened. Before the elections, the general had already toured all the garrisons in the country to explain to his men what maintenance of order was. To the troops already on alert at that time, he had formally forbidden firing their guns. "You must not shoot because you were struck on the face with a stone. As long as no one fires a shot at you, you must use other methods. You will only open fire in cases of authentic self-defense," he declared at the time.

It is the report of this wholly military action that would later be presented as a confession, last 1 April. On that day Mr Tavares's successor General Mamadou Mansour Seck informed the corp heads, service directors, and all western-zone officers of what had happened. "For now, only one thing is certain, and that is that General Tavares da Souza did indeed intend, as he serenely admitted, to seize power of his own free will through a coup." It does seem that the majority of the some 300 noncommissioned officers present were not convinced by the words of the current army head. Such an accusation was all the more surprising for the men who knew their former commander as it was not based on any specific fact or rigorous line of argument. The hierarchy is covered with embarrassment when it is asked to whom the incriminated unit commanders were supposed to report the instructions of their head. One fact is unchanging, however: ever since his nomination, General Tavares da Souza has ceaselessly raised his voice against...coups. It is not the army's role to seize power, he declared 22 September 1984 in the journal LE SOLEIL, that is, barely 2 days after his installation as General Chief of Staff of the armed forces. His farewell to arms, 15 June 1988, was in the same vein: "our mission must not stray into the false path of mirages. We voluntarily confine our responsibilities within the limits of honor, which fights compromise and lies, and without that we could not live." A page had just been turned. It is a page to that we will return, for the writing of it is not yet done.



**\* No Substance to Coup Attempt Charges**  
*34190200c Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French*  
*29 Mar 89 p 8, 7*

[Article by Mamadou Traore Diop: "Suspicion or Plot?"]

[Text] What is the true magnitude of the affair involving the national-army field officers placed under close surveillance and that leads public opinion to believe in an attempted coup?

There are the facts: the former chief of staff, General Tavares da Souza, and a few field officers were heard during an investigation whose initial conclusions resulted in their summons while they await eventual sanction by the [court of] military justice, under the high authority of General Waly Faye.

Contrary to the rumor circulating in Dakar, they were not arrested and detained in a camp; they are at home and the military authority has even been very understanding of them during their supervised freedom.

The tracts attributed to officers and NCOs offended by their alleged arrest may be the result of pure and simple indoctrination, wholly engineered by behind-the-scenes experts in the art of confusion.

It seems that as far as high-ranking military officials are concerned, no serious charges weigh on these officers, beyond a certain feeling that must be put down to suspicion. That basically explains the particularly honorable treatment being given them.

The case of the former chief of staff General da Souza does not appear to be a notorious case of rebellion, motivated by a sympathy for the idea of breaking with the political class in power.

Da Souza's loyalty does not seem to be in question. It is simply that military discipline has its rules and, on slight grounds, everything can lead to a sanction of one kind or another.

When General Tavares da Souza was appointed to take charge of the general staff's destiny, many skeptics brought out the fact that he came from an ethnic group and region whose restiveness these last few years still threatens the material and political foundations of the nation.

However, General da Souza's reaction to a separatist movement that has taken on troubling proportions and a resolutely determined cast has always been firm, uncompromising, and faithful to the spirit and higher interests of the republic. Under his authority, our armed forces have fulfilled their civic and patriotic duty without a trace of weakness, in respect of the law and constitution.

But what is General da Souza being specifically blamed for in this affair, which dates back to the days following the February 1988 elections?

Observers were surprised to see the president modify the military hierarchy in a period of calm, by relieving General da Souza of his duties for a diplomatic post in Bonn. This was done without explanation or commentary in official circles. Was it a promotion or a sanction? The question was a thorny one, especially as General da Souza was known as an unconditional [supporter] of President Diouf. And, as we know, his wife set up a committee to support the president's re-election, against all expectations, on the eve of elections.

This action taken by a spouse of the chief of staff provoked much comment both in the political class in power and the opposition. It also did not go unquestioned within the army, particularly among a large number of officers who saw in this initiative the thinly veiled underside of their hierarchical chief's political involvement.

But as we know, the elections took a dramatic turn, encouraging the imposition of a state of emergency. It was perhaps during this period of uncertainty, with the incessant appeals made by certain opposition members that the army assume its responsibilities, that suspicions began to weigh on the chief of staff.

During the events the army played a decisive role alongside the Gendarmerie and the police forces in re-establishing order in the capital. And during the entire state of emergency, it was on watch day and night, maintaining order and security, without undue excess or culpable weakness.

All the same, faced with a seemingly interminable situation, the army wanted to return as quickly as possible to its barracks, believing that the maintenance of public order, after its justified intervention, was exclusively the province of the Gendarmerie and police forces.

Well, it seems the political authorities, because of the seriousness of the situation, were still eager to have the soldiers in the street.

Apparently General da Souza was categorical on that point. Accordingly, the army took its tanks back home and withdrew to its camps, leaving the streets to those in charge of guarding them in such situations.

However, a dynamic compromise was reportedly reached: the soldiers could withdraw but, out of solidarity and above all to give the impression of their presence, they were all to wear combat dress until the end of the emergency.

Basically, the chief of staff did not want to run the risk of participating in repression, should such a eventuality arise, with the popular outbursts that are always possible in such cases.

This hint, not without importance, of reticence about overstepping bounds apparently aroused some suspicion. And naturally Da Souza paid the price as soon as the situation started to become clearer. Certainly he was transferred outside the country to ensure that his presence would not become an obstacle to the investigation of a "non-case."

As for the incriminated officers, they are not being censured for much, except perhaps having informally agreed to act in concert on the eventual attitude to take if the situation called for it. Nothing is known of what this attitude might have entailed.

However, it has been established that contacts were made. Nothing, however, proves they were followed up on to the extent of constituting even the semblance of a plot. That is why at the time the affair, though reported to high-level officials, had no notable effect and was apparently closed after the transfers of and sanctions against the officers in question.

There were, in fact, contacts that could be described as "little conversations" between elite-corps noncommissioned officers. One of the officers approached in Thies reportedly made it very clear to those who wished to exchange ideas with him that he was a soldier and that he was careful to avoid getting involved in politics. Faithful to his special status, he had no point of view on the situation, or any situation. And the matter did not go any further.

But when the president got wind of the affair, he was vexed. He is well acquainted with that particular officer and had the opportunity of appreciating him personally, especially as the officer was his assistant when the president was prime minister.

He criticized him for not having come to see him when the affair was under way, to inform him of what appears to be a conspiracy.

As guardian of the constitution and commander in chief of the armies, the president's feeling is understandable. This perhaps does not authorize him to explain the silence of an officer, one moreover in charge of an elite corps.

It was a culpable silence, true, but also an understandable one on the part of a young officer who was in no way bound by a little and innocent informal conversation on an eventual attitude to take.

The burden of evidence indicates that there was nothing conspiratorial about the concerted action. And to speak to the president about it would certainly be a base act, worthy of a stoolpigeon, for that field officer concerned about his honor as a soldier.

Nevertheless, the affair has taken a serious turn, considering the complexities and sore points of a particularly confused situation.

Still, this unwelcome dossier is embarrassing both for the government and the military men, who for the first time are openly mixed up in politics.

The army seems to be in favor of pouring oil on troubled waters. It is a matter of restoring the affair to its true proportions and refraining from turning it into a motive for a coup.

It is assumed that the officers in question, just a bit guilty of something, will be subjected to only the slightest disciplinary sanctions. And undoubtedly the president of the republic will take advantage of the opportunity in his traditional message to the nation on the evening of 3 April to reaffirm his confidence in the army and its leaders.

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

16 June 1989



